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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH MEETING (Resumption 1)

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 23 November 1992, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. ERDOS	(Hungary)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting resumed at 3.25 p.m.

Mr. BARBOSA (Cape Verde) (interpretation from French): First and foremost, I should like to say that it is the Cape Verdean delegation's hope that the presence of the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Tariq Aziz, at this meeting will contribute to facilitating the complete and unconditional implementation of the resolutions of the Council so that a definitive solution can be found to the situation currently prevailing between Iraq and Kuwait, in the interest of peace and stability not only in these two fraternal and neighbouring countries, but throughout the entire Gulf region.

From the very outset of the Gulf crisis caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, my country has been among those that have firmly condemned the invasion, which has caused so much suffering, loss of life and material damage and which is, and will continue to be, a threat to international peace and security so long as there is no satisfactory and definitive solution.

Indeed, it could hardly be expected that a small country like mine could have taken any other position under such circumstances. The adamant defence of the principles concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force in international relations, and also the inadmissibility of violating the territorial integrity and sovereignty of countries, is a constant feature of Cape Verde's foreign policy.

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

My delegation has taken note of the reports of the competent United Nations bodies with respect to Iraq's partial implementation of certain of its obligations under the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. While I encourage the Iraqis to continue - and with greater resolve - to comply with Security Council resolutions, I regret to note that they have not complied fully with their obligations under the resolutions relating to the situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

In these curcumstances, Mr. President, the delegation of Cape Verdi must agree with your conclusions about Iraq's failure to comply fully and unconditionally with the obligations imposed upon it by those resolutions; at present this is preventing the Council from lifting the sanctions.

It is obvious that recent statements in the Iraqi press that Kuwait is an integral part of Iraq, along with local propaganda to that effect, are not likely to create a point of view in the Council favourable to the lifting of sanctions. It is precisely Iraq's claims and measures against Kuwait that warranted the Council's imposition of sanctions. We are of the view that stability can prevail in the region and fraternal ties between Kuwait can be restored only if Iraq ceases once and for all to claim legitimate ownership of Kuwaiti territory.

We express once again our concern with respect to the situation of Kuwaiti prisoners and other foreign citizens in Iraq. We hope they will be freed very soon and that, with their liberation, access to the places where they now are will be facilitated.

We hope that today's meeting will result in important steps forward, so that the implementation of the resolutions can move to a qualitatively higher

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

level: full and complete implementation of Council decisions and an end to the painful situation of the Iraqi people, a people linked to the people of Cape Verde by strong ties of friendship. In that connection, we call again on the members of the Council to spare no effort to ensure that the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people are properly met.

I cannot end without reaffirming that the Iraqi people, like every other people, has the right to development. In the view of my delegation, the purpose of sanctions is not and can never be to prevent the Iraqi people from enjoying prosperity and well-being. On the contrary, their purpose is to restore peace and security so that all the peoples of the region can live in peace.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): It is now eight months since the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Tariq Aziz, addressed the Council during my country's presidency. At that time I stressed that Venezuela's main aspiration continued to be peace and reconciliation among all the countries of the region, with which we share common interests.

I wish today to reiterate that aspiration and to state clearly our concern at the degree to which Security Council resolutions have not been implemented, resolutions that Iraq had stated it accepted and would implement unconditionally and fully.

Mr. President, you stated early in today's meeting that Iraq had fulfilled its obligations only selectively and partially; this could hardly be of greater concern. Despite the time that has elapsed and the commitments and promises the Government of Iraq has made, it has not finally and clearly acknowledged its obligations; graver yet, it seems to be inclined to drag out

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

the process unjustifiably, thus forcing the international community to devote substantial time and resources to following it up.

When Iraq agreed unconditionally to implement the Council resolutions, it was understood that it would implement them as a whole, not partially, gradually or unwillingly. The idea was complete implementation that would enable the Iraqi people to return as soon as posible to normality, to which they are fully entitled. But instead we are concerned to note all the obstacles and difficulties the Council has encountered throughout the process.

Iraq's interpretation - that the current sanctions and monitoring regime was brought about solely by some of the permanent members of the Security Council - is, in my delegation's view, incorrect and dangerous. In March we told the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq that the sanctions regime had been imposed by the entire Council, acting, in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter, on behalf of the entire international community. This is a central point that the Iraqi authorities must understand clearly. This is not an attempt to continue the Gulf War by other means; we are simply seeking the complete, comprehensive implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council.

The long list of unimplemented provisions includes non-recognition of the crucial work of the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, the complete failure to implement resolution 687 (1991), the horrendous flouting of human rights in the northern and southern parts of Iraq described by Mr. Max van der Stoel, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, and the failure to restore property and prisoners that remain in the hands of Iraqi authorities. All these serious omissions must be immediately remedied, as the Government of Iraq has pledged to do.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

There can be no peace and stability in the region so long as Kuwait - a sovereign, independent State Member of the United Nations - continues to be intimidated and threatened. I want to refer in particular to humanitarian problems with respect to prisoners of war and to those missing in action. I appeal to the Government of Iraq to permit without further delay unrestricted access by family members and the International Committee of the Red Cross to detention centres, and to accelerate the process of repatriation. The importance States attach to this delicate matter is illustrated by the case of prisoners of war and those missing in action from the Viet Nam conflict. Thirty years later, the United States Congress is still working actively on this problem.

We are confident that the relevant resolutions can be fully implemented in a prompt and satisfactory manner, including that related to the monitoring and verification regime.

I want to repeat what I said on the same item on 11 March 1992: Venezuela deplores the fact that it was impossible to reach an agreement on the machinery for petroleum sales, a failure that prompted the Council to adopt resolution 778 (1992). We hope that there will be a speedy resumption of talks that will contribute to the implementation of Council requirements with respect to indemnization and compensation through the fund established for that purpose, with a view to meeting the basic needs of Iraqi civilians, whose well-being continues to be of concern to my country.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

My delegation joins in the appeal to the Government of Iraq that it take advantage of this opportunity to end this process, which will make it possible to eliminate the sanctions regime, which the Government of Iraq has fully warranted, so that the Government of Iraq can permit its people once again to set its feet on the path of normality, which, as I have said, it is fully entitled to do.

Responsibility for maintenance of the sanctions regime is fundamentally in the hands of the Government of Iraq. My delegation will always be ready to recognize efforts undertaken by the Government of Iraq to that end.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The questions involved in settling the consequences of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait are extremely important from the point of view of ensuring international peace and security. We hope that the participation of the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Tariq Aziz, in today's meeting of the Security Council will prove useful to their successful resolution.

The Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have done a great deal of work aimed at implementing the Security Council resolutions in order to disclose Iraqi programmes to create weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles having a range of over 150 kilometres, and in order to eliminate stocks thereof. We express our gratitude to the Chairman of the Commission, Ambassador Ekeus, and to the Director General of IAEA, Mr. Blix, for their great personal contribution to this work.

Although during the most recent inspection by the Special Commission, the forty-fifth inspection, Iraq demonstrated a more open and reasonable attitude and presented additional data on the prohibited military programmes, a full

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

picture of Iraq's activities covered by resolution 687 (1991) does not yet exist, nor is there any certainty as to the completeness and accuracy of the information presented by Iraq concerning those programmes.

We cannot but be put on our guard by the unsatisfactory nature of a number of statements that have been made by Iraqi officials, by attempts to conceal information or to give only partial information, which makes the work of the Special Commission and IAEA more difficult, so that they still entertain doubts about the completeness of data on Iraqi programmes for the creation of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons and of missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres. We are also put on our guard by Iraq's assertions that all the required information has already been presented. Such statements have repeatedly been made by Iraq in the past, but during subsequent inspections it has been revealed that there were additional undisclosed aspects of the prohibited Iraqi programmes.

We must also note that Iraq's failure to acknowledge its obligations under resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991) and its attempts to replace performance of its obligations with discussions concerning the clear demands of the Security Council are making it impossible to carry out activities involved in monitoring and verification in accordance with the Council's decisions.

Similarly, the Security Council cannot overlook the facts of Iraq's essentially hostile attitude towards the activities of United Nations inspectors, and acts that have threatened the personal safety of the inspectors, and have caused material damage to United Nations property. We all recall the events of this summer in Baghdad, around the building of the Iraqi Ministry of Agriculture, to which previous speakers have referred.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Other facts also attest to an unconstructive attitude on the part of the Iraqi authorities: their refusal to cooperate with the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, the detention of citizens of third countries by Iraqi military patrols in the demilitarized zone, including parts of Kuwaiti territory, and the delaying of the process of releasing Kuwaitis captured by Iraq and returning Kuwaiti property, including military property.

According to information that has reached us, the Iraqi authorities have confiscated the property of a number of foreign companies and organizations, including Russian ones, which constitutes a violation of paragraph 29 of resolution 687 (1991).

We also feel concern at the fact that Iraq has not met the requirements of resolution 688 (1991) regarding the ensuring of respect for human rights in Iraq. As is clear from the report of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. van der Stoel, the Iraqi authorities are continuing their repression of the country's population and, in particular, continuing their economic blockade against Kurdish-occupied areas in northern Iraq.

All of this gives us reason to say that the Iraqi Government is continuing to evade conscientious and complete implementation of its obligations under Security Council resolutions.

The Russian delegation has frequently raised to the Iraqi leadership the question of the inadmissibility of attempts to contest in any way the binding decisions of the Security Council, which is responsible to the world community for preventing the recurrence of such instances of adventurism as Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

In its policies with regard to Iraq, Russia has always believed that the interests of the world community, as well as the national interests of Iraq's

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own people, would be served by the establishment and maintenance of peace, stability and good-neighbourliness in that part of the world, which, moreover, is not very far from Russia's frontiers.

We would like to express the hope that this discussion will help Iraq to understand better the position of the Security Council and make its Government more aware that it must comply vigorously and completely with all the provisions of Security Council decisions binding upon it that have been adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): Ecuador's action in the Security Council since the beginning of the Persian Gulf crisis has been based on the principles that guide its external policy, particularly the peaceful solution of disputes, refraining from the use of force in international relations, non-recognition of territorial conquest, and the duty of all States to contribute to a peaceful and just international climate.

The decisions taken by the Security Council have pursued a fundamental objective: restoration of the existence of Kuwait as a free, sovereign and independent State, as it was before it fell victim to aggression and occupation. Therefore any statement or conduct by Iraq that calls into question the rights of Kuwait as a sovereign State is of fundamental concern to Ecuador. Iraq must remember that it is only through respect for the rights of Kuwait that it can ensure peace for itself.

It is worth recalling here the thoughts of an illustrious Latin American written on the walls of our General Assembly: "Respect for the rights of others is peace."

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

After the withdrawal of Iraqi troops, the Security Council adopted a series of resolutions with a view to restoring the lawful order and an atmosphere of mutual respect between Iraq and Kuwait. The sanctions regime imposed as a consequence of the invasion took place after the war and became the machinery for guaranteeing Iraq's implementation of the provisions of the Council, compliance with which was explicitly required.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

Ecuador considers positive the progress recorded in recent months with regard to Iraq's compliance with its obligations related to disarmament and arms control. Both the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have recognized this. There are important undertakings, however, that have to be respected and complied with by Iraq. As was pointed out by the Director General of IAEA in his report in document S/24722, the full implementation of the monitoring and verification plan will only be possible when the Iraqi authorities have fully complied with the requirements for information laid down in document S/22872/Rev.1 and Corr. 1.

We encourage Iraq to produce as soon as possible the information which, according to the Director General of the IAEA, it has been compiling. Similarly, the list of those who provided arms, technology and components must be transmitted so as to avoid future violations of international instruments on non-proliferation.

With regard to the situation of the implementation of the plan for monitoring and verification referred to in section C of resolution 687 (1991), Ecuador urges a continuation of contacts between Iraq and the Commission for the execution of this plan, for which the cooperation of Iraq will be necessary.

Ecuador shares the concern expressed by other members of the Security Council at the scant cooperation of Iraq in the repatriation of Kuwaiti and third-country nationals and at the lack of access granted to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit them and the detention centres. Out of basic respect for international humanitarian law, Iraq should comply with its obligations in this area without restriction or delay.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

Ecuador's external policy is based on its profound humanitarian convictions. We therefore attribute the greatest possible importance to strict compliance with resolution 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), with which Iraq has unfortunately failed to comply. This prevents it from acquiring the necessary means to deal with the basic needs of its population. It is necessary for the Government of Iraq to agree as soon as possible to reopening its exports of oil for the benefit of its people within the framework established by the Security Council.

The renewal of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Secretary-General and the Government of Baghdad points to a spirit of cooperation that should be maintained. My country interprets the presence here of the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Tariq Aziz, as a demonstration of good will. We are confident that, in the statement he will make this afternoon, he will be able to dispel the concerns both of the members of the Security Council and of the specialized agencies of the United Nations that have been asked to cooperate in the implementation of the various resolutions. We hope that Mr. Tariq Aziz will open up new avenues of potential cooperation to us. Only in that way, overcoming the climate of distrust generated in the international community by the failure of Iraq to fulfil its obligations, will it be possible for the Security Council to review or revise the sanctions regime. It is upon Iraq that depends, in large measure, the establishment of a stable and lasting peace in the area, the primary objective of the work of the United Nations.

Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): At the outset, I take this opportunity to welcome Mr. Tariq Aziz and his delegation. My country can only welcome Iraq's decision to come to New York

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once again to renew constructive dialogue with the Security Council on the questions related to the implementation of Council resolutions and the various aspects of the situation arising from them. My delegation, like those of other Council members, will listen with interest and an open mind to the point of view which by that representative of a fraternal country will set forth on the progress achieved and difficulties encountered in the implementation of the relevant resolutions.

All we can hope is that this dialogue will lead to positive results and a better understanding that will enable us to achieve the objectives laid down in our resolutions, and that will ultimately contribute to the final restoration of peace and stability to the Gulf region. The Kingdom of Morocco, an Arab country and a member of this great international community, has greatly suffered from the region's fratricidal crisis and its disastrous and deplorable consequences, which continue to devastate the Arab world. Like other countries of the region, it cannot but hope to make its contribution to any process that would allow the Gulf region to regain peace of hearts and minds.

I have no intention of reviewing the various questions that you, Sir, developed in your introductory statement and that can properly be called complete and useful. Nor do I wish to go into detail on the obligations laid down in the relevant resolutions of our Council. The last report of the Secretary-General, in document S/24661 of 19 October 1992, and the various reports of the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have developed these points clearly and relevantly. My purpose today is simply to attempt to identify and stress certain developments and positive

(Mr. Benjelloun-Touimi, Morocco)

trends, without of course overlooking those areas in which work remains to be done. My delegation is therefore happy to note that significant progress has been made in the implementation of certain provisions of the important Council resolutions.

My delegation should also like to note with satisfaction the Iraqi authorities' growing readiness to cooperate vis-à-vis the inspection missions and, in particular, an attitude we deem to be more open and responsible on the part of that fraternal country by the forty-fifth mission of the Special Commission last October.

My delegation would also like to welcome the signing of the renewed Memorandum of Understanding governing the interorganizational humanitarian programme in Iraq, a Memorandum arising indirectly from the relevant resolutions of the Council. In this regard, I should like to pay a tribute to Mr. Eliasson, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, for his perseverance, his availability, and his sense of compromise. Thanks to that agreement, a realistic framework of cooperation between the United Nations and Iraq has been established. This framework will undoubtedly make it possible to accomplish work that will, of course, be incomplete and limited but will be designed to cover the humanitarian needs of the civilian population and based on the acceptance of the host country, and will enjoy foreseeable means of financing.

My country remains very much concerned, however, by the very serious humanitarian situation in that fraternal country. It is worth recalling in this context the moral obligation of the Council to do all in its power to ease the suffering of the innocent civilian population. That is why my delegation would like to appeal to all members of the Council that the

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Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) initially take a more flexible, tolerant and responsible approach to the subject of goods related to Iraq's humanitarian needs and that it interpret with a greater sense of understanding and realism the humanitarian aspect, in particular, of these questions.

We are also very much aware that in the humanitarian field, as in all the areas targeted by our relevant resolutions, the Iraqi authorities must also continue to discharge their duties and obligations. My country believes that respect for the Security Council resolutions remains essential to the restoration of peace, stability and prosperity in the Gulf region. Those resolutions must therefore be fully implemented. This means that stages remain to be covered and that my country sincerely hopes that the fraternal country of Iraq will continue to do all it can to cooperate with the concerned bodies of our Organization and that it will continue faithfully to discharge the obligations incumbent upon it pursuant to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

Our objective remains unchanged today - to overcome differences of view and misunderstandings and to promote confidence and cooperation. The opportunity offered us today to pursue dialogue once again with the authorities of Iraq should serve precisely that objective and should open the way to a rapid and peaceful settlement of all the outstanding problems of the region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Hungary.

Hungary welcomes the presence at this meeting of the Security Council of Mr. Tariq Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq, and the high-level delegation accompanying him. The situation in which Iraq finds itself today makes it quite understandable that the leaders of that country wish to inform themselves directly of the judgement of the international community about the way in which Iraq is discharging its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) and the other relevant resolutions of the Security Council, that they wish to present their points of view and that they wish to have a clear picture of what is expected of Iraq in the full implementation of those resolutions.

The statement made on behalf of the members of the Council by the President of the Security Council at the beginning of this meeting gave an overall and detailed assessment of Iraq's performance in this regard. Hungary believes that, despite the signs of favourable change in certain areas, we must conclude that the general situation remains an adverse one. Iraq has only selectively and partially discharged the obligations incumbent upon it.

As to Iraq's obligations under section C of resolution 687 (1991), we have seen several signs of a more cooperative attitude on the part of Iraq. We very much value the progress that has been made along these lines. At the same time we cannot remain silent about the numerous instances of confrontation in the Iraqi attitude, which makes it more difficult to restore normal relations between Iraq and the international community. In this context, members will recall the incident last July that affected one of the Special Commission's inspection teams. That incident, as well as other

(The President)

problems affecting the process of monitoring and verification, constitute serious failures in the implementation of resolution 687 (1991). It is also cause for serious concern that Iraq has still not unequivocally acknowledged the obligations incumbent upon it under resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991). On the contrary, it is requesting that they be reviewed.

We still have no overall detailed view of Iraqi programmes for the development of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range of over 150 kilometres, nor do we yet have any complete information about the former suppliers to Iraq of arms and technology required for the production of prohibited weapons, including the matériel to be used in various nuclear programmes.

In the field of human rights and humanitarian issues, Iraq has decided to ignore resolution 688 (1991) and is continuing its acts of repression against the civilian population. There are ongoing mass and systematic violations of human rights. The reports of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights give a depressing picture of the situation in this area.

On the one hand, reference has been made in Iraq to the suffering of its population, and members of the Security Council have been accused of legal and moral liability for the "genocide" of the Iraqi people; on the other, negotiations on the sale of a certain quantity of oil to finance the purchase of essentials have been blocked, and an economic blockade has been imposed in the southern marsh area, preventing its inhabitants from receiving food and medicine. In our view, that is not the best way to convince the international community of the need to ease the sanctions imposed on Iraq. It is because of Iraq's refusal to cooperate in those areas that the Security Council was recently obliged to decide to pay into a United Nations escrow account certain

(The President)

frozen Iraqi assets, part of which should be used for humanitarian purposes.

As to humanitarian assistance to the civilian population, the renewal, last October, of the Memorandum of Agreement until 31 March 1993 is of paramount importance. We particularly deplore the delaying tactics that delayed the signing of that Agreement for nearly four months. That document, which we welcome, ensures the presence of the United Nations in the northern territories, in the south and in other parts of the country. It sets under way the inter-agency plan of action for United Nations humanitarian assistance to Iraq amounting to $217 million for the period under review. The success of that operation will depend largely on the readiness of the Iraqi authorities to cooperate with the United Nations.

In countering the suggestions that have been made about a broad international conspiracy of which Iraq is the victim, is it really necessary to recall that Iraq would not have found itself in such a situation if it had respected the sovereign rights of its neighbour to the south and had not so brutally intervened in the internal affairs of that country? How can we therefore be surprised about the general attitude towards Iraq both during and after the Gulf war, an attitude that clearly pursued political objectives that were clearly identified and were quite obvious - to ensure a return to the situation prior to the aggression against Kuwait and to inflict an equitable punishment commensurate with the violation of the basic principles of international relations.

Last March, during the previous meeting of the Security Council with the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, we drew attention to the considerable implications that the invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent denial of its

(The President)

existence might have on international relations. But, not only has Iraq ceased to participate in the work of the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, thus calling into question the territorial integrity of Kuwait, but also statements made by Iraqi leaders have once again called into question the very existence of Kuwait. These statements have been supplemented by similar opinions given in the Iraqi media, the spread of such ideas and the publication of certain maps among the teaching materials in Iraqi schools. These quite openly question the sovereignty and independence of Kuwait, affirming that "historically" Kuwait is an integral part of Iraq. Consequently, they are being used as a pretext for the aggression of 2 August 1990 and are an attempt to legitimize it.

When Iraq calls on the international community to guarantee the sovereignty of its territory and air space, we are entitled, when we read recent statements and listen to the media campaigns in Iraq, to wonder exactly to what territory and what air space the Iraqi request refers. It is quite clear that the United Nations cannot sanction the reappearance of territorial claims against Kuwait - a sovereign country and a member of the international community.

We know through our own historical experience that such irredentist and expansionist propaganda is extremely dangerous, not only internationally, but also domestically. The ideas that are disseminated become part of peoples' psychology, they poison their minds and, above all, they distort the attitude of children and young people. The Government that takes responsibility for thus contaminating the minds of its own population sows possible future discord between its country and its neighbours.

(The President)

The letter dated 28 October 1992 from the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, when it refers to events in the Gulf region, seeks in every way possible to avoid calling things by their name and to circumvent the question of Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, to use such euphemisms as "the Kuwait affair", and such formulas as "the military aggression against Iraq", and "Iraq was attacked by a coalition", "the military campaign waged against Iraq". All of this, unfortunately, demonstrates that there is a clear lack of readiness to face up to the events as they actually occurred, and is an attempt to rewrite the recent history of the region. It would be incorrect to believe that as time passes the collective memory and the determination of the international community grow weaker. It might appear strange, nevertheless, that scarcely two years after these events, there is already a need felt to repeat that the summer of 1990 brought us aggression and annexation, and that the winter of 1991 brought us the elimination of that aggression and the liberation from foreign occupation of a State Member of the United Nations.

The security and sovereignty of the States in the Gulf region cannot be guaranteed when we have the impression that it is only the existence of strict international safeguards and the threat of severe sanctions that seem to be holding one party back from making the mistake of taking further hostile actions against a neighbour.

(The President)

It is our hope that today's meeting of the Security Council will not simply be a repetition of the one we had in March and that it will yield tangible results in the near future. We are confident that the high-level Iraqi delegation that is here with us today will return to its country assured that the future of Iraq, the cradle of a great and ancient civilization, is not a matter of indifference to the international community, but that Iraq's reintegration into the community of nations - which we fervently desire - is feasible only if it implements the relevant Security Council resolutions fully and in good faith.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I call on the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Tariq Aziz.

Mr. AZIZ (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Last March, the Security Council heard a statement I delivered here on behalf of the Government of Iraq. Today, eight months later, I have come to address the Council once again and deliver the following statement.

Before I go into the details of today's statement, I wish to say that the past eight months have been replete with activities carried out by the inspection teams of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), for the implementation of the provisions imposed upon Iraq by Security Council resolution 687 (1991). During this period, 16 inspection operations were carried out, during which 9,983 pieces of weaponry, including shells, bombs, warheads and propellant charges, were destroyed. The destruction included a great deal of equipment and many installations that could have been used, if they were spared, for civilian industrial progress and the prosperity of the Iraqi people. However, regardless of the fact that all this has been done, the state of the iniquitous embargo imposed upon our country remains unchanged. The children

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

of Iraq continue to suffer from a shortage of milk, and the Iraqi population as a whole still suffers from dire shortages of food and medicine, while being denied many other essentials of human existence.

This state of affairs leads to a very serious conclusion: namely that, no matter what Iraq does in fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon it by resolution 687 (1991), the unjust sentence passed by the Council to starve the people of Iraq and deny them the right to life will remain in place, simply because this is the will of certain influential governments in the Council; the very same will that was behind the drafting and adoption of the Council's resolutions; the will that was, and continues to be, behind the unjust manner in which Iraq has been treated, both in intention and in actual deed.

There is a fundamental significance to placing this very serious conclusion at the beginning of my statement. The Security Council has imposed certain obligations upon Iraq by virtue of its resolution 687 (1991), but the Council continues to refuse to discharge its own obligations towards the people and the State of Iraq. The Council refuses to deal with Iraq in accordance with international law, the United Nations Charter, the rules of morality, justice and equity, and the very text of resolution 687 (1991) itself. Consequently, we have the right to pose this question: if the Council deliberately refuses to honour its own legal and moral obligations towards the people and State of Iraq, including the obligations stipulated in resolution 687 (1991), does this not mean that the Council itself is demonstrating that its resolutions lack moral and legal grounds?

Having said this by way of an introduction fraught with lessons, I wish to say that Iraq, in spite of this striking paradox and the grave injustice inflicted upon it, has complied with resolution 687 (1991) despite that resolution's arbitrarily iniquitous nature.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

In our last meeting, we stated that the fundamental facts of Iraq's implementation of the obligations imposed upon it had been deliberately hidden from the Council, a state of affairs that continues to this date.

In that last meeting, comprehensive and precise details were presented regarding the obligations that had been fulfilled. Just before arrival here, the Foreign Minister of Iraq sent an updated and complete factual report, dated 19 November 1992, about the obligations fulfilled in connection with section C of resolution 687 (1991).

I wish to list briefly in this statement before the Council the obligations that have been fulfilled, as a matter of factual record.

The fundamental objectives of section C of resolution 687 (1991) that have been fulfilled so far are as follows:

First, all weapons that the Security Council, by said resolution, has prohibited Iraq from possessing have been totally destroyed. The remaining chemical materials are under the control of UNSCOM teams and are being destroyed in a systematic technical manner, according to a plan agreed upon between the Iraqi authorities and UNSCOM representatives.

Inspection teams dispatched by the Special Commission and the IAEA have conducted 44 operations of destruction of missile systems, chemical weapons and related material. The number of items destroyed by those teams has reached 26,865, including semi-manufactured items, missiles and launchers as well as equipment, devices and empty chemical-munitions shells. The Iraqi side, for its part, destroyed 270,000 items, ranging from components, forging equipment and devices, the remains of which have all been seen by the inspection teams. In the meantime, quantities of raw materials, in excess of 1,500 tons in weight, have also been destroyed.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

Secondly, all equipment used, or claimed to have been used, in the production of weapons prohibited by resolution 687 (1991) have been identified by the Special Commission and the IAEA. In spite of this, however, UNSCOM and the IAEA insisted on the destruction of installations and equipment at the sites of Al Athir, Tarmiya, Balat Al-Shuhada', Hitteen and Shirqat, even though the buildings and equipment destroyed were used, and could have continued to be used, in civilian industries - a fact which we have substantiated with abundant scientific, technical evidence and tangible evidence.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

Thirdly, in the period since the adoption of resolution 687 (1991), Iraq has received 46 inspection teams with a total membership of 1056 inspectors who have spent a total of 11,816 inspection days in Iraq, during which time they conducted 884 inspection operations, including 237 surprise visits, without any previous notice, to various sites covering all areas in Iraq. In these missions, the inspectors used the most modern and sophisticated means of detection, communications, reconnaissance and transport, including helicopters which have been used in no less than 64 missions. There have been 371 helicopter flights in the carrying out of those missions and for various other purposes, each lasting from four to eight hours.

In the course of that period, American U2 reconnaissance aircraft conducted 97 flights over Iraq. Each U2 reconnaissance and surveillance flight lasted on average three to four hours. During the same period Iraq presented its complete and comprehensive report, in addition to huge quantities of documentation, data and answers to questions raised by the inspection teams. Session of discussion were also held between the UNSCOM teams and representatives of the Iraqi competent authorities lasting hundreds of hours of dialogue and answers. The inspection teams also seized by force huge quantities of documents and data.

In the course of the same period, the Iraqi side has presented in an honest scientific spirit unequivocal proof as to the falsity of the allegations, lies and distortions propagated by certain countries. One day it is said that Iraq is hiding so many missiles. Another day it is said that Iraq is hiding an underground nuclear reactor. This vicious propaganda campaign and its dubious political objectives have, however, been exposed and repelled by scientific and technically substantiated evidence.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

On this subject I wish to quote the following from the letter of the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 28 October 1992:

"Anyone who traces the course of events since resolution 687 (1991) was adopted on 3 April 1991 will discover that the most ferocious campaign in the history of the United Nations, using all means of intimidation, coercion and pressure, has been waged against Iraq with the aim of achieving the objectives set forth in that resolution.

"For the sake of truth and for the historical record, we are here obliged to state that most of the inspection teams that have visited Iraq behaved in a hostile manner and proceeded to engage in effrontery, provocation and the contrivance of problems without regard for the sovereignty, dignity and security of the people of Iraq or for the scientific and technical facts relevant to the objectives set forth in resolution 687 (1991). For the most part, they have based their inspection plans not on scientific, technical and logical considerations but on the tendentious reports and data intended to provide a cover for biased and predetermined actions that were supplied to them by the intelligence agencies of Certain States with well-known political designs against Iraq. Those States have used the teams' activities and certain of their members (of whom there have been many) in order to further those designs. The teams have behaved more like medieval inquisitions than technical inspection teams with well-defined objectives such as those set forth in resolution 687 (1991)." (S/24726, annex, pp. 2-3).

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

In this respect resolution 687 (1991) contains two basic aspects:

First, the implementation of section C of the resolution imposes an obligation upon the Council, according to paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991) to lift the embargo on the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq and to lift the prohibitions against financial transactions related thereto contained in resolution 661 (1990).

Regardless of the fact that the fundamental aspects of section C had been fulfilled since the end of 1991, a fact which I stressed in my statement before the Council last March, and despite the follow-up of the past eight months with regard to implementation, the Council has not looked in any positive manner into the issue of implementing, either partially or completely, paragraph 22 of its own resolution.

The Council has adopted, and continues to adopt, a despotic posture against Iraq and has pursued a method of continued harassment and pressure.

Instead of considering objectively and fair-mindedly the need to implement this paragraph of its own resolution, the Council has placed, during the recent months, obstacles before the possibility for Iraq to use its frozen assets abroad in order to meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people of food, medicine and other urgent needs. The States members of the Council have not implemented the Sanctions Committee's decision which allows them to free Iraqi assets for the purpose of meeting these needs. The assets are still kept frozen by those countries.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

In the course of the same period the Sanctions Committee has persisted in its shameful conduct, namely the prevention of Iraq from obtaining its needs. The examples of this cited by the Foreign Minister of Iraq in his letter of 28 October cause indignation and ridicule. Let me give the Council some of those examples:

> "The Sanctions Committee has either refused or suspended the delivery to Iraq of, for example: heaters for maternity hospitals; water purification supplies; medical equipment; fabrics; men's and women's clothing; school notebooks, pencils; ... anti-malaria chemicals; ... spare parts for ... reconstruction of the medical vaccine plant; ... water pumps; ... plastic for water pipes; ... ten bread ovens; razor blades; plastic containers glass for hospitals; for hospitals; cotton for medical purposes; ... water pipes; ... cotton textiles for sanitary clothing; textiles for the production of bedcovers, children's bicycles; fire-fighting supplies;". (S/24726, annex, p. 14)

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

Then the United States administration comes and imposes upon the Council another grotesque and iniquitous resolution to be added to the series of strange and unjust resolutions adopted by the Security Council against Iraq. I refer here to resolution 778 (1992), under which parts of Iraq's frozen assets abroad are being robbed and used at will in an arbitrary fashion. This resolution also closes the door completely against Iraq's using the remainder of its assets to provide for its urgent humanitarian needs.

Secondly, operative paragraph 14 of resolution 687 (1991) states that the Council:

> "Takes note that the actions to be taken by Iraq in paragraph 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the present resolution represent steps towards the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and all missiles for their delivery and the objective of a global ban on chemical weapons;".

This subject was also addressed by the Iraqi Minister of Foreign affairs in his letter of 28 October 1992 (S/24726), from which I quote:

> "This vital part of the resolution is of the Security Council's own making, but the Council has done nothing to follow it up at the very time the feverish pace of the arms race in the region is accelerating, including that for the possession of weapons of mass destruction. Disregard for this part of the resolution or failure to ensure its proper implementation would do serious damage not only to the concept of security and to the possibility of its establishment in the region, but also to the security and sovereignty of other States in the region, among them Iraq.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

"All the facts indicate that Israel possesses a large arsenal of nuclear and chemical weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles; this has been confirmed by many well-known studies and reports, and has been the subject of numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly and IAEA. It is also firmly established that Israel is constantly strengthening and expanding this arsenal with direct assistance from the Government of the United States, the leader of the ruthless campaign against Iraq inside and outside the Security Council.

"There are also daily reports that convey disturbing news of very large arms deals being made by Iran with many countries for the purpose of obtaining long-range missiles and missile technology for producing them inside Iran, strengthening its arsenal of chemical weapons and developing its capacity to produce nuclear weapons. The reports, the most significant of which include reports from Western sources, even affirm that Iran is endeavouring to obtain or has perhaps already actually obtained nuclear warheads ready for use" (S/24726, pp. 3-4). The said letter reached the following serious conclusion:

"These facts not only raise in an acute form the question of the double standards the Security Council applies in the resolutions it adopts but also confirm the selective and biased approach that the same Council pursues in dealing with the various parts and sections of these resolutions, and particularly with regard to resolution 687 (1991). While everything relating to the denial to Iraq of the weapons prohibited by resolution 687 (1991) is given high priority in the Council's agenda and its resolutions and procedures, the Council deliberately disregards that vital part of the resolution that relates to other countries in the

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

region, and it leaves the way open to Israel and Iran in particular to strengthen their arsenals of weapons of mass destruction.

"This reality thoroughly discredits the basis given by the Security Council for the adoption of its peculiar and unjust resolution 687 (1991) and of the other peculiar and unjust resolutions it has adopted against Iraq. It reveals, with unambiguous clarity, that the real driving force behind the adoption of this and other resolutions was not action supported by the Charter or the claim made in the preamble to the resolution that the Council was acting to maintain security and stability in the region. The true motive was rather that of destroying a particular Arab country, namely Iraq, depriving it of the means of defending itself, destroying its industrial capacities even in civilian fields, blockading it by land, sea and air, killing its people by depriving it of food and medicine, and plundering its assets deposited overseas. This has been done on the basis of an imperialist policy determined primarily by the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom and France, which have used the Security Council as a tool for this policy with a view to restoring their control over the region and plundering its enormous oil wealth". (ibid., p. 4)

Past experience regarding the manner in which the Security Council has dealt with Iraq, with the questions of security and stability in the region, and with the issues of legitimate people's rights confirm what we have always maintained, namely that the policy of double standards dominates the way the Council has dealt with Iraq under the pressure of the influential Powers in the Council. This dealing by double standards also underscores the fact that a policy of injustice and abuse has always been pursued against Iraq in a

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

manner that is unprecedented in the whole history of United Nations-Iraq relations.

The imposition of blockade is an act of war and connected with the conditions of war. This has been the norm prevailing in international law and international relations. The Security Council, however, has continued to impose its blockade upon Iraq despite an established cease-fire and the fact that the conditions which were used as a pretext to impose the blockade have long disappeared, and irrespective of the suffering brought upon the people of Iraq through this iniquitous seige.

Right, justice and fairness dictate that this policy must be radically changed. Iraq has implemented the obligations imposed upon it, and has cooperated in a positive manner with the Security Council and the United Nations. The circumstances which the Council used as a pretext for imposing the embargo against the people of Iraq and for adopting a long series of extraordinary and arbitrary measures that threaten Iraq's security and sovereignty have disappeared.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

The determination to keep this embargo in place against Iraq amounts in fact to the perpetration of the crime of genocide against the people of Iraq. Both the Security Council as an organ and the members of the Council as States, each according to the extent of its responsibility, will bear the responsibility for this crime for as long as the embargo continues to be imposed upon the people of Iraq.

The imposition of this embargo against Iraq has caused the death of thousands of children. During the period from January through October 1991, 1,977 children under five years of age died from causes related to the effects of the economic embargo, including pneumonia, malnutrition and diarrhoea. For the same period in 1992, the total number of deaths among such children was 3,821, an increase of 93 per cent over the 1991 total. In the case of those children of over five years of age, deaths in the period from January through October 1991 from causes directly related to the economic embargo, such as diabetes, hypertension and malignant tumours, totalled 4,506; for the same period in 1992, the figure was 6,399, an increase of 42 per cent over the 1991 total.

Moreover, the embargo has deprived Iraqi pupils and students of their learning and educational needs. That is in addition to the bitterly cruel suffering of the Iraqi people as a result of shortages of food, medicines and medical supplies, not to mention the deterioration of the levels of all services and deprivation of many of the essentials of every-day life.

Iraq has been prevented from importing flood-control equipment; agricultural equipment and supplies, including pesticides and herbicides; and all equipment related to the provision of urban services. Thus, the effects

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of the embargo have not been limited to people, but have also led to the deterioration of the environment, as is confirmed by the eye-witness reports of international missions and the foreign media.

The people and the Government of Iraq are prevented from using fixed-wing civilian aircraft for transportation between Iraq and other countries. The sanctions Committee has rejected even the return from abroad of civilian Iraqi Airways planes in order to protect them from damage. Herein we are faced by a naked paradox: while the Council places a very heavy emphasis on the alleged loss of property of those who have claimed damages in connection with the question of Kuwait - claims that have not been substantiated or sufficiently documented - it deliberately squanders Iraq's clear, well-established assets.

United Nations inspectors and officials travel to Iraq in fixed-wing planes, but Iraqi officials - including those who come to address the United Nations - are not permitted to use such planes for travel from Iraq to other countries. Iraqi patients who are forced to travel to Jordan for the medical treatment that no longer exists in Iraq because of the inhuman embargo have to bear the hardships of travel by car for distances exceeding 1,000 kilometres with the result that some of them die before reaching hospital. In comparison, any United Nations officials with a common cold is promptly flown out of Iraq by fixed-wing aircraft to neighbouring countries at the Iraqi people's expense. These are but examples of the manner in which the Security Council treats our people and our country.

In his letter of 28 October, our Foreign Minister referred to the series of arbitrary resolutions and measures adopted by the Council in addition to its resolution 687 (1991). It is high time they were all drastically reviewed.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

The Council knows full well that those resolutions and measures were adopted at a time when a special atmosphere prevailed, namely the atmosphere of machinating crisis against Iraq in line with certain political wishes of the Bush Administration with which the Council went along and adopted those resolutions. Now that those circumstances no longer pertain and a stable relationship exists between the competent authorities in Iraq and the representatives of the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency, side by side with the objective professional approach we have adopted, there is a need for all those measures and the provisions of the no longer necessary Security Council's resolutions to be drastically reviewed.

The use of foreign helicopters by the inspection teams is no longer justified. We have always stressed the fact that foreign helicopters are being used in pursuit of intelligence purposes that threaten Iraq's sovereignty and security, and that have nothing to do with the purposes of resolution 687 (1991). We have proposed that those foreign helicopters be replaced by Iraqi helicopters, which the United Nations teams could use whenever necessary, in a professional manner and in coordination with the Iraqi authorities.

We have called and reiterate our call for a halt to the activities of United States U-2 spy planes, which - as we proved clearly in our previous statement to the Council - use the cover of the United Nations to spy on Iraq, for political and intelligence purposes that have nothing to do with resolution 687 (1991). We have proposed the practical solution of using aircraft from a neutral State. We have declared our readiness to make available Iraqi aircraft for use in cooperation with United Nations organs so that its tasks may remain within the purely professional framework established in resolution 687 (1991).

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

If United Nations officials need fixed-wing aircraft for travel to and from Iraq, why do they not use the civilian Iraqi planes that lie idle and are thereby exposed to damage, rather than using foreign planes at Iraq's expense?

Special care should be taken in all the activities of United Nations missions to respect the sovereignty and dignity of Iraq. Iraq, an ancient country that cherishes its independence, will never tolerate any act intended to encroach on its sovereignty or to trample its dignity.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

We stress once again the great importance of the question of security and stability in the region and the necessity of dealing in a balanced manner with all its countries. All fair-minded people among the statesmen, researchers and observers of the region, and those who follow its affairs from the outside, emphasize that after the deliberate destruction and weakening inflicted upon Iraq, the security and stability of the region have continued to deteriorate from one day to the next.

The special desires of certain influential rulers and the effects of certain of their internal circumstances have led to a deliberate cover up of all these facts. Now that those special circumstances have disappeared, the situation in the region should be looked into more responsibly.

To focus on stripping Iraq of its national security capabilities and the means of protecting its people, and to impose iniquitous conditions, which violate its sovereignty and security under the guise of future monitoring, is to leave the situation in the region without any serious monitoring. This does not serve security and stability in the region. It has in fact led to its destabilization.

We call for the adoption of comprehensive measures all over the region, as provided for in resolution 687 (1991), and as called for by all responsible leaders. Iraq should be part of those measures rather than being the country that is singled out in regard to their application. To that end, Iraq is ready for constructive and responsible cooperation.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is Mr. Hans Blix, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, to whom the Council has addressed an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BLIX: Under paragraph 13 of Security Council resolution 687 (1991), the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was directed to carry out three tasks with a view to dismantling Iraq's nuclear capability: first, to identify, through on-site inspections, Iraq's nuclear capabilities; secondly, to destroy, remove or render harmless all nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapons-usable material, any sub-systems or components, or any related research, development, support or manufacturing facilities; and, thirdly, to develop and implement a plan for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with the requirement not to acquire or develop a nuclear-weapon capability.

Taken together, the implementation of these tasks and the completion of the necessary actions by Iraq, critically important in themselves, were seen as part of the steps towards the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free of weapons of mass destruction. This makes the full and early implementation of these tasks, and the cooperation of Iraq, all the more desirable.

On 11 March of this year, I reported to the Council that after 10 inspection missions to Iraq much progress had been made in the first two tasks laid upon me by the Council, while implementation of the plan for long-term monitoring had not yet started. Since March, five more Agency

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missions have taken place and considerable further investigative and other work has been carried out. As a result important parts of the first two tasks have been fulfilled and the Agency has begun implementing elements of the third task - that of long-term monitoring and verification.

The first task, the complete mapping of Iraq's nuclear capabilities, requires that we identify all Iraq's nuclear-relevant resources and the foreign sources of supply and technology. In the course of the 15 missions undertaken to date in Iraq, our teams have visited more than 70 sites and gradually mapped a broadly based secret nuclear programme aimed at the production of enriched uranium and at the development of nuclear-weapon capabilities. In the course of these inspection visits, the IAEA has held numerous discussions with the Iraqi authorities.

As early as in March I reported to the Council that a fairly consistent and coherent picture of Iraq's nuclear programme was emerging. What we have seen and learned since March has not modified that picture but added to it. Although the picture is comprehensive and detailed, we cannot be certain that it is complete. Iraq's unwillingness so far to reveal foreign sources of equipment, material and technology makes it difficult to ascertain whether all nuclear-related imported equipment and material has been identified. New information, positively evaluated by the Special Commission and the Agency, could also point to sites which would require inspection - after designation by the Special Commission. We therefore see a need for continued on-site inspection.

Since March the Agency has devoted much work to the second task assigned to it, that of ensuring the destruction, removal or rendering harmless, as appropriate, of facilities and equipment related to the clandestine nuclear

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programme. Key buildings, equipment and material have been destroyed or rendered harmless. The installations at Al Atheer, Tarmiya and Ash Sharqat can no longer be used for the nuclear purposes for which they were intended. The Iraqi authorities have actively cooperated in these operations under the direction of the IAEA inspection teams, and we would expect them to continue being cooperative in these matters.

The only nuclear-weapons-usable material known to remain in Iraq at present is the highly enriched uranium in irradiated reactor fuel assemblies. Removal of this material awaits conclusion of the necessary arrangements with recipient countries. The material has been verified by the Agency's teams and is being kept under its control until it is removed.

The IAEA has now begun to phase in elements of the third task - the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with the Security Council resolutions. As may be concluded from my remarks, the steps taken are without prejudice to the continued investigative activities of the IAEA.

The implementation of long-term monitoring meets with some cooperation and also some resistance from the Iraqi side. The Iraqi authorities continue to challenge the legitimacy of the plans approved by the Security Council under resolution 715 (1991). It is of particular concern that the letter of 28 October 1992 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq (S/24726) has restated Iraq's non-acceptance of resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991) in strong terms.

I wish to reiterate the remarks I made last March before the Council that the lack of full and explicit acceptance of resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991) ignores the binding nature of those resolutions. It appears also

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to ignore Iraq's own explicit acceptance of resolution 687 (1991), which in paragraph 12 lays upon Iraq the obligation to accept the plan for the future ongoing monitoring and verification in the nuclear sphere. Acceptance of resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991) is essential in order to establish an effective and reliable system of ongoing monitoring and verification in Iraq.

I must also report that the Iraqi authorities continue to delay their compliance with our repeated requests that they provide clear and complete information concerning the items which are to be reported to the Agency under the plan for future ongoing monitoring and verification. They have still to provide information on all relevant items, including those which they have said were destroyed during and after the armed conflict - that is to say, all nuclear relevant items existing in Iraq as of 1 January 1989. Iraq has only very recently indicated to us its readiness to submit before the end of this year information concerning all these items.

(Mr. Blix)

While Iraq has provided much information to the IAEA under resolution 687 (1991) - some on its own initiative, much prompted by discoveries made by the inspection teams - decisions have been taken at a political level in Iraq not to provide key procurement information. This information is needed to dispel existing suspicions that more equipment and material may remain in Iraq than what has been identified. These procurement data, which the Agency is now trying to acquire through the cooperation of a number of Governments, are needed to permit independent verification of the completeness of the disclosures made so far by the Iraqi authorities. They are also needed to ensure that all nuclear-relevant material, equipment and machine tools existing in Iraq are submitted to effective long-term monitoring. Furthermore, data about past procurements may be critical to the establishment of a meaningful mechanism for import control, as called for in paragraph 7 of resolution 715 (1991). Lastly, detailed information on the Iraqi procurement network would help to ensure that previous channels used to obtain proscribed items would not remain available to Iraq to resume prohibited programmes. In the important area of procurement information, there is no full, final and complete disclosure; there is hardly any disclosure.

I must therefore report to the Security Council that I cannot conclude that Iraq has fully complied with its obligations under the relevant resolutions as these resolutions relate to the tasks laid upon the IAEA.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is Mr. Rolf Ekeus, Executive Chairman of the Special Commission, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. EKEUS: The last time I spoke to the Security Council in formal session was in March 1992. That was also the last occasion when the Council was addressed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq. Thus, the question now is: has there been real progress since that time?

Since March 1992 I have had occasion, in a number of private meetings, to bring the Council up to date on the Special Commission's activities. On 16 June 1992 a detailed six-monthly report was circulated in document S/24108, and a further one will be forthcoming before the middle of next month. On 19 October a report from the Special Commission on the status of the implementation of the plan for ongoing monitoring and verification was circulated in document S/24661. In the light of these documents and the briefings I have given, I do not believe that a useful purpose would be served by my attempting to recount today all the activities of the Commission since March 1992. Nor will I detail all the points on which the Commission finds itself in disagreement with Iraq's so-called factual report of the measures taken by Iraq in implementation of section C of Security Council resolution 687 (1991). That 83-page document was received by the Commission only on Friday and I do not believe that it has been circulated as yet in document form to the Council. To the extent that detailed comment is required, it will be contained in the Commission's December report to the Council. In these circumstances, what is called for today in answer to the question I have posed is a more general assessment by the Commission of where we stand.

The Special Commission is a subsidiary organ of the Security Council and its sole function is to carry out, to the best of its ability, the executive mandate conferred on it by the Council. The Commission wishes to discharge this mandate as soon as possible, and it has no interest whatsoever in

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prolonging the various stages of its three-fold responsibilities. These are: first, the identification of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction in the fields assigned to the Commission and the related programmes for their procurement and production; secondly, the destruction, removal or rendering harmless of proscribed items and facilities; and, thirdly, the institution of a credible system of ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with its obligations not to acquire again such weapons of mass destruction.

The speed with which the Commission can discharge its responsibilities is in large measure determined by the degree of Iraq's cooperation. Eight months ago I had to report to the Council that the first stage was not complete. That remains the case today. Iraq has still not provided the full, final and complete disclosure of all aspects of its programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction, as called for by Security Council resolution 707 (1991). The information which Iraq has asserted constitutes a full, final and comprehensive report was found unanimously by the Commission, at its fourth plenary session last month, to be flawed and incomplete.

This is because Iraq has continued to refuse to provide and to substantiate vital information on such matters as foreign procurement, and indigenous production and operational use of weapons in the various internal and external conflicts in which Iraq has been involved. Almost the entire documentation needed to substantiate its account of its chemical, biological and bacteriological programmes has been denied to the Commission. The same is true in the missile field. Iraq claims that it has destroyed all records and documents relating to proscribed activities under Security Council resolution 687 (1991). Such destruction would constitute a breach of Iraq's obligations under the Council's resolutions to cease the destruction of and to permit

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unrestricted access to all relevant records. In any event, the Commission finds it well-nigh inconceivable that Iraq spent billions of dollars and years of research on its programmes and has now destroyed every record of those programmes and of the technology on which they were based. Without supporting authentic documentation, it is not possible to substantiate the information supplied by Iraq.

However, some progress has been made since last March in compiling more information on Iraq's programmes for weapons of mass destruction as they existed at the outbreak of the Gulf conflict. This has once again very largely been the result of further painstaking inspections in conjunction with lengthy seminar-type meetings with senior Iraqi officials concerned.

(Mr. Ekeus)

While there have been some positive indications of a more forthcoming attitude on the part of some of those responsible for Iraq's military programmes to the provision of certain missing information, most notably in the area of ballistic missiles, a complete, credible and coherent picture, and thus a thorough understanding of Iraq's programmes for weapons of mass destruction, is not yet at hand. Compliance by Iraq with all aspects of the first stage of the Commission's mandate cannot therefore be reported at this time.

When I spoke to the Council eight months ago, I was able to say that Iraq's cooperation had been good in the destruction of weapons that it had declared. This continues to be the case, particularly with regard to chemical weapons. Facilities built by Iraq, under the Commission's supervision, are now operative at the main site of the Al Muthanna State Establishment and are destroying Iraq's stocks of nerve and mustard agents.

As regards the disposal of the capabilities for the production of weapons of mass destruction, I had to report in March 1992 that Iraq was imposing impediments to the destruction of certain missile-producing capabilities. I am happy to say today that these particular impediments were overcome, following a strong reaction by the Security Council and its members to Iraq's refusal to carry out the Commission's instructions. Indeed, all cases of destruction of major facilities under resolution 687 (1991) have required strong backing by Council members before it was possible to carry out the destruction. Many items and facilities remain under seal awaiting a final decision on whether they should be destroyed, removed or rendered harmless for subsequent use in permitted activities under international monitoring. This phase of the Commission's activities thus remains incomplete, as it did eight months ago. Until the final decision just referred to has been taken and

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implemented, the Commission cannot certify that Iraq is in substantial compliance with this phase of the Commission's mandate.

The third stage, however, is where the most serious problems arise. Eight months ago I reported an impasse. Since March this has been yet again and even more forcefully confirmed. Iraq has consistently refused to acknowledge the existence of its obligations under Security Council resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991), and the plans for ongoing monitoring and verification approved by the latter resolution, with the Council acting under Chapter VII of the Charter.

From the very beginning, in its public pronouncements and private conversations, Iraq has indicated that it is only willing to accept ongoing monitoring and verification in principle, and on its own terms. In effect, those terms appear to be Iraq's exclusive understanding of paragraphs 10 and 12 of Security Council resolution 687 (1991). This is an understanding that places the most severe limitations on any form of monitoring. These limitations are expressed in the form of considerations of sovereignty, national security, dignity and non-interference in Iraq's internal affairs and industrial development. In each instance, these considerations are to be interpreted by Iraq. This position could not be more clearly enunciated than it is in the letter of 28 October 1992 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq and circulated to the Council in document S/24726. In part II, paragraph 1, of that letter, Iraq declares that resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991), adopted unanimously by the Council, reveal "the most dangerous and crudest aspects" of the parties hostile to Iraq and that these resolutions constitute a violation of Iraq's sovereignty. Iraq

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calls upon "the Council to conduct a radical review, on a basis of justice and fairness, of the terms and provisions of these two resolutions".

In the view of the Commission that letter, taken as a whole, is a most retrograde step and illustrates that the promises made of a new approach and renewed cooperation are without real substance. It will be noted that the so-called factual report just submitted studiously avoids reference to resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991), thus continuing Iraq's consistent refusal to acknowledge these resolutions. To the extent that Iraq has taken any steps in regard to ongoing monitoring and verification, it has done so in a manner that does not meet the requirements of resolution 715 (1991) and the Commission's plan approved thereunder. The declarations it has filed comply neither in substance nor in timing with the requirements of the plan. The Commission last month found these declarations to be flawed and incomplete, as I have just recalled.

The Special Commission, as a subsidiary organ of the Council bound by the Council's decisions, cannot, in the face of Iraq's consistent and unyielding opposition to the Council's regime, fully institute the regime for ongoing monitoring and verification adopted by the Council. Once Iraq acknowledges its obligations under resolution 715 (1991) and the plans approved thereunder, the Commission could, however, determine the extent to which Iraq's legitimate concerns can be accommodated within the requirements for a credible system of monitoring and verification. If Iraq refuses that acknowledgement and if sanctions and the oil embargo were to be lifted, there can be no doubt that the effectiveness of the Special Commission in Iraq would be gravely impaired.

This is clearly confirmed by the Foreign Minister's letter of 28 October, in which he reiterates objections not only to resolutions 707 (1991) and

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715 (1991), but also to essential aspects of the Commission's operations in Iraq, in particular its air transportation, helicopter and high-altitude surveillance activities. These activities are clearly authorized by Council resolutions adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter, but Iraq has consistently objected to them. Thus, if sanctions and the oil embargo were to end without Iraq's unconditional acceptance of its obligations under resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991), the Commission's air transportation and aerial surveillance would be halted by withdrawal of Iraq's current de facto acquiescence, and monitoring and verification would be reduced purely to visits to such installations as Iraq selected and at such times as Iraq permitted.

Since last March, the Special Commission has also been called upon to defend vigorously the privileges and immunities of its staff and inspectors in Iraq, in particular, their safety and security. Violence reached a new level in the Ministry of Agriculture incident, when an attempt was made to stab an inspector. After that incident, there were repeated acts of vandalism against the Commission's property and what appears to have been a coordinated programme of low-level harassment of individual Commission personnel - written and telephoned death threats, incidents involving various degrees of violence, refusal to provide hotel and other services, and similar acts. The authorities have asserted that these are spontaneous acts of individuals to demonstrate their opposition to United Nations activities in Iraq. The Commission has found such arguments to be unacceptable and its frequent protests now appear to be bearing some fruit. I can report to the Council that currently there are fewer incidents of individual harassment than was recently the case.

(Mr. Ekeus)

I must on this occasion comment upon the remarks in the Foreign Minister's letter of 28 October on the conduct of our inspectors and staff. Inspection personnel and other staff deserve our tribute for their competence, courage and dedication. They have acted in the most professional manner, often in most difficult and trying circumstances, in seeking to identify and map out Iraq's programmes. If, on occasion, their activities have appeared intrusive, this is an intrusiveness brought about by lack of cooperation by Iraq and by a sincere desire on the part of the inspection teams to ensure that the Council's mandates are carried out.

Security Council resolution 687 (1991) contains comprehensive provisions on what is expected of Iraq in order for sanctions on imports to Iraq to be relaxed and the embargo against oil exports lifted. The degree of Iraq's compliance in each of these respects is a matter to be determined by the Council. The Special Commission, however, is aware that it is required to furnish the Council with information on the status of Iraq's compliance with section C of resolution 687 (1991), regarding weapons of mass destruction, and that such information will have an impact on the Council's decisions under paragraphs 21 and 22 of that resolution.

Paragraph 22, in particular, links the lifting of the oil embargo to Iraq's compliance with section C of resolution 687 (1991) alone. I have repeatedly informed the Iraqi authorities that when the Special Commission is in good faith convinced that Iraq is in compliance with the actions called for by section C of the resolution, the Commission will so report to the Council.

In making a determination under paragraph 22, the Council will, of course, take into account all information available to it, over and above what

(Mr. Ekeus)

is reported by the Special Commission and by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). However, I would trust that prime importance would be attached to the assessments of the Commission and the Director General of the IAEA as the Council's executives under section C of resolution 687 (1991). I look forward to the day when positive reports can be placed before the Council, and the earlier the better.

But if the course pursued at present by Iraq continues, particularly where resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991) are concerned, it is with much regret that I believe that the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission will have to come to the Council again with the assessment that I made last March - namely, that the possibility of the Special Commission's certifying Iraq's compliance with its obligations under section C of resolution 687 (1991) does not even arise.

This need not be the case. The solution is, in fact, simple. The Government of Iraq must make a genuine commitment to carry out all its obligations under resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991) and 715 (1991). That genuine commitment must be backed up by deeds. When that happens, the Commission will do its duty. It will report to the Council that in its view Iraq has met and is meeting all its obligations under section C of Security Council resolution 687 (1991).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is Mr. Jan Eliasson, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and the Emergency Relief Coordinator, to whom the Council has issued an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I now call on him.

Mr. ELIASSON: As Council members know, the Secretary-General authorized me to sign, on his behalf, a Memorandum of Understanding between the United Nations and the Government of Iraq on 22 October this year. On the basis of this Memorandum of Understanding, a plan of action was finalized to respond to the humanitarian needs of the civilian population throughout Iraq. The plan of action covers a six-month period ending on 31 March 1993. Its different components correspond to an amount of more than $250 million. The programme covers all regions of Iraq but has an emphasis on the urgency of bringing humanitarian assistance to the northern provinces of Iraq due to the impending harsh winter conditions and the existence of internal supply restrictions to that part of the country.

As Council members also know, the humanitarian programme in Iraq was grinding to a halt after 1 July, when it became evident that the existing Memorandum of Understanding was not at that time to be extended by the Government of Iraq. Security problems persisted in the north; harassment of United Nations personnel took place; visas, trucking and travel permits were to a large extent not extended; and the number of United Nations guards was slightly more than 100 - as compared to slightly more than 400 in April and May. By September, total United Nations personnel numbered less than 200, and there was no United Nations international presence at all in the south of the country.

Since the signature of the Memorandum of Understanding on 22 October, the humanitarian programme is in an active implementation stage within the framework of available financial resources. It is a struggle for time, since winter conditions in the north may make deliveries very difficult. Visas to United Nations personnel have been extended for the duration of the plan of action, with the possibility of a review of their validity by the Iraqi

(Mr. Eliasson)

Government at the beginning of next year. Eighty-nine new United Nations guards have received visas and been deployed, bringing the total number of United Nations guards now to 195. Another 105 United Nations guards are expected by December through rotation. The great majority of the United Nations guards will be posted in the northern provinces. A small headquarters unit will be placed in Baghdad.

The most urgent supply needed for the northern part of Iraq is kerosene. Ten million litres of kerosene, valued at $2.9 million, will be delivered to the Sulaymaniyah and Arbil Governorates. The first deliveries were made on 18 November. Another 20 million litres of kerosene are to be purchased soon, both inside and outside Iraq. Both the northern and the southern routes will be used for deliveries. The purchases of fuel have been made by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in cooperation with the non-governmental organization CARE.

UNICEF is also starting a national vaccination campaign for the whole of the country today, 23 November. The World Health Organization (WHO) will shortly be distributing medicines, valued at $2 million, to various parts of Iraq.

As far as food is concerned, the World Food Programme (WFP) has 5,200 metric tons stocked in the country, of which 2,000 metric tons are in the north. Ten thousand metric tons are now being transported to Turkey for further delivery into Iraq. Another 10,000 tons should be forthcoming for distribution in the south. The plan of the World Food Programme is to supply 27,000 metric tons of wheat flour to the north and 16,200 metric tons of wheat flour to the rest of the country.

(Mr. Eliasson)

As the Council knows, there have been certain disturbances of traffic from Turkey into Iraq recently. With the cessation of fighting in the north a limited amount of traffic into northern Iraq is now possible. A substantial delivery of goods has taken place over the weekend, and today it has been reported to have reached its final destinations. The Government of Iraq has cocperated with the United Nations in making such deliveries possible under the umbrella of the plan of action and with the active participation of appropriate United Nations agencies.

For the success of this important, and indeed complex, operation, it is now essential to have the full cooperation of the Iraqi Government and the financial support of the Member States for the humanitarian programme to Iraq. All over the country the humanitarian needs are considerable, particularly among the vulnerable groups. Right now attention is very much focused on the situation in the north. But, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, there are urgent needs to be addressed in other parts of the country, not least in the south, where the situation in the health and sanitation sector is particularly serious.

From the side of the United Nations we count on the continued cooperation for the duration of the programme from the Government of Iraq on such matters as issuance of visas and travel and truck permits; cooperation in having activities and field presence in the south; agreement on reasonable pricing of fuel; and cooperation with relevant non-governmental organizations on the basis of the Memorandum of Understanding and the plan of action.

(Mr. Eliasson)

For the programme to be implemented successfully it is urgently necessary that funding be made available under the United Nations umbrella. Financial resources were seriously lacking upon the signature of the Memorandum of Understanding in October. Therefore, the new Central Emergency Revolving Fund[1] had to be used for urgent deliveries of fuel to the north. Some contributions have been received in the last few weeks. But, if the United Nations is to deliver humanitarian aid on an urgent basis, it is important that substantial contributions be made in the very near future.

Let me conclude by stating that this programme is being monitored day-by-day due to the magnitude of the needs and the urgency of delivering humanitarian aid, in view of the impending winter in the northern area. At the same time, it is important, as I have already mentioned, to remember that the programme is intended to cover humanitarian needs all over the country. Assistant-Secretary-General Richard Foran, who is our coordinator in Baghdad, has just concluded a visit to the south and is presently visiting the northern areas. We will receive his report in the next few days.

In the mean time, the concerned United Nations agencies, particularly those with the direct operational responsibility, are substantially strengthening their presence in Iraq. The total number of United Nations personnel in the country today is approximately 360, of whom UNICEF has 35 and the World Food Programme 10. In the near future, we count on growing figures for these and other agencies, as well as non-governmental organizations personnel and United Nations guards, thereby assuring an adequate staffing level to implement - again with the proper financial support - the United Nations inter-agency programme for Iraq.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is Mr. van der Stoel, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. VAN DER STOEL: During the meeting of the Security Council on 11 August I quoted resolution 688 (1991) of 5 April 1991, which demands that Iraq, as a contribution to removing the threat to international peace and security in the region, immediately end the repression of the Iraqi civilian population.

On the basis of the evidence I received - statements of witnesses, documents, audio and video cassettes - I had to conclude that Iraq had still not ended its policy of repression and was therefore continuing its refusal to comply with that resolution.

The Government of Iraq has repeatedly stated that this conclusion was a subjective and biased one. However, the only yardsticks I have used were the international human rights instruments to which Iraq had decided to accede, thus imposing on itself an obligation under international law to respect and implement the provisions of, to give just a few examples, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

The Government of Iraq has also repeatedly referred to special circumstances such as the war between Iran and Iraq, the Gulf War, the uprisings in the spring of 1991 and the economic embargo, all of which it alleges had a negative impact on the human rights situation in Iraq.

(Mr. van der Stoel)

Leaving aside the question of where the responsibility lies for these so-called special circumstances, there is not the slightest doubt that the norms of applicable international law do not allow even in special circumstances summary or arbitrary executions and forced disappearances or torture. All this has happened in Iraq, not incidentally but on a massive scale. Moreover, there are reasons to fear that even if these special circumstances were to disappear the violations of human rights would continue.

The present order in Iraq has all the characteristics of a totalitarian system and precludes full respect of human rights obligations. Specifically, so long as the rule of law remains undermined by the parallel orders of extrajudicial and even extralegal rule, administered essentially by a security apparatus accountable only to the inner circle of the presidency, there cannot be any meaningful enjoyment of human rights or any genuine respect for the dignity of the individual.

Resolution 688 (1991) also insists that Iraq allow immediate access by international humanitarian organizations to all those in need of assistance in all parts of Iraq and to make available all necessary facilities for their operations. In my view, this part of the resolution has to be seen against the background of the specific human rights to food and health - under articles 11 and 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, respectively - and, where the minimums are not respected, respect for the right to life, under article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

(Mr. van der Stoel)

However, events, especially in the course of this year, have increasingly made it clear that Iraq refuses to implement in full this part of resolution 688 (1991). To elaborate this point, I quote one sentence from a letter of the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council dated 24 August:

"From the United Nations perspective the Government's position prevents the inter-agency humanitarian programme from providing effective humanitarian assistance to vulnerable groups in Iraq."

(Mr. van der Stoel)

I also have to recall that United Nations personnel participating in the inter-agency humanitarian programme have repeatedly been subjected to harassment, vandalism and violence. The great majority of these incidents have occured in Government-controlled areas. Several incidents have occurred at Government checkpoints, thus casting a strange light on the contention of the Government of Iraq that the incidents were the result of spontaneous outbursts of popular anger.

In other cases, assaults have occurred in the presence of local police or Government security personnel, who have failed to intervene. In the deteriorating security situation, non-governmental organizations, which have such a vital role to play in humanitarian programmes, have found it almost impossible to continue their work.

Many people are suffering in Iraq, in the north, in the centre and in the south, and it was therefore hoped that the Memorandum of Understanding concerning humanitarian operations in Iraq, which expired on 1 July, could be extended without delay. However, it was only on 22 October that a new Memorandum of Understanding was signed, but United Nations sub-offices and United Nations guards were no longer allowed in the south of the country, notwithstanding the warning of the Secretary-General, in the letter I have just quoted, that in the absence of a United Nations presence in the south a reliable assessment of conditions prevailing in that region would not be possible.

In a letter which the Government of Iraq addressed to me on 23 January this year, and which was included in my report on the human rights situation in Iraq of 18 February (S/23685/Add.1), the Government of Iraq agreed with me that as far as access to food and health care requirements were concerned the

(Mr. van der Stoel)

obligations of non-discrimination arising under article 2 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights did not depend on the degree of availability of the goods. The letter from the Iraqi Government further states:

> "Iraq has scrupulously respected the principle of non-discrimination in the distribution of basic foodstuffs, which are rationed".

The letter continues:

> "This equitable distribution is based on non-discrimination between citizens and residents and also among citizens themselves, regardless of their ethnic, religious or linguistic affiliation or the region in which they are living". (S/23685/Add.1, p. 50)

Notwithstanding these explicit assurances, such discrimination has taken place, even though the Government of Iraq clearly realizes that this constitutes a violation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, to which it is a party.

The people in the marshlands to the south are subjected to a complete blockade. As far as the three Kurdish governorates in the north are concerned, the supply of food and fuel reaching their destinations has steadily diminished during the current year, especially in the Governorates of Arbil and Sulaymaniyah. In January this year the food delivered from Government-controlled parts of Iraq to the north was about 50 per cent of what ought to have been delivered if the principle of non-discrimination in the distribution of food rations had really been applied by the Government of Iraq. By September this had dropped to 8 per cent. In the course of the year a virtually complete embargo was applied on fuel supplies to the three northern governorates.

(Mr. van der Stoel)

The Government of Iraq is complaining bitterly about the injustice of the economic sanctions against Iraq, nothwithstanding the fact that food and medical supplies are specifically exempted and Security Council resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) offer the opportunity, not so far used by Iraq, for Iraq to sell enough oil to be able to buy food supplies and medicine to a total value of at least $900 million. But at the same time the Government of Iraq has not hesitated to deny the Kurdish population food and fuel, thus clearly endangering their rights to food and health as formulated in articles 11 and 12 of the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural rights.

In the Memorandum of Understanding concluded on 22 October between the United Nations and the Government of Iraq the Government of Iraq promised to to take all required measures to facilitate the safe and rapid passage, as well as the delivery, of humanitarian assistance commodities throughout the country. However, it took nearly a month before 12 lorries carrying 400,000 litres of heating and cooking oil - which had, moreover, to be bought at world prices - arrived in the north. In itself, their arrival was a welcome development, but at the same time it was a modest step, as the total fuel requirements for the 3 million Kurds in the north during the four winter months have recently been estimated at 47 million litres of kerosene.

The cutting of food and fuel supplies to the north by the Government of Iraq has already caused great suffering for the most vulnerable groups amongst the Iraqi population. Moreover, the fuel shortage has led to such extensive cutting of wood that the resulting deforestation may cause a major ecological disaster in the north.

(Mr. van der Stoel)

The stalling of the Iraqi Government during the negotiations concerning a new Memorandum of Understanding has further aggravated the situation. In his letter of 24 August to the President of the Security Council the Secretary-General warned that in the north the population would be placed at serious risk if adequate food and fuel supplies were not pre-positioned by November and if the Government did not reinstate adequate food rations by that date.

I have already concluded that the Government of Iraq was violating its obligations under articles 11 and 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights by imposing its internal embargo on the Kurds in the north and the inhabitants of the marshlands in the south, but if it fails to provide its complete and unrestricted cooperation in the effort to provide food and fuel in adequate quantities it is violating the most fundamental human right, the right to life.

In one of the most oil-rich countries in the world, thousands of people are in danger of freezing to death if the Government does not change its policy rapidly and completely. If the Government of Iraq continues to stall, it must be aware that its policy will be tantamount to a death sentence for many of its Kurdish citizens. But when a Government tries to deny the right to life to a specific community within the State, the question inevitably arises whether it is engaging in genocidal practices as defined in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

(Mr. van der Stoel)

Let me express the hope that it will not prove necessary to pose that question, and that the Government of Iraq will end its violations of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and will make the necessary efforts to prevent a new disaster for the Kurdish people and the population of the southern marshes.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is the Minister of Information of Kuwait, His Excellency Sheikh Saud Nasser al-Sabah. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Sheikh Saud Nasser AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, my delegation has watched with appreciation the way in which you have guided the work of the Security Council this month, which has already had a long and heavy agenda. Your efficiency and wisdom deserve commendation. You are the representative of Hungary, a friend of Kuwait which stood by us in our moment of distress; your country sought to uphold justice and repel aggression. It is therefore proper that we should take this opportunity to place on record our deep gratitude to your friendly country.

It gives me pleasure also to commend your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France, for his able stewardship of the Council last month.

I want also to take this opportunity to express our appreciation, Sir, for the comprehensive statement you made at the beginning of this meeting.

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

This is the second time the Security Council has met to hear a presentation by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq intended to convince the Council and the world that Iraq has met its numerous obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions on Iraq's aggression against and occupation of Kuwait.

As members know, at the end of the first such meeting held on 11 and 12 March 1992, the President of the Council read out a brief statement which read in part:

> "'The views of the Security Council having been expressed through its President and by the statements of its members on the extent of compliance by the Government of Iraq with its obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions, the Security Council has listened with close attention to the statement by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq and his responses to the questions posed by Council members.
>
> "'The members of the Security Council wish to reiterate their full support for the statement made by the President of the Council on their behalf at the opening of the 3059th meeting (S/23699).
>
> "'In the view of the Security Council, the Government of Iraq has not yet complied fully and unconditionally with those obligations, must do so and must immediately take the appropriate actions in this regard. It hopes that the goodwill expressed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq will be matched by deeds'". (S/PV.3059 (Resumption 2), p. 211)

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

That was the judgement of the Security Council on the claim by the representative of Iraq that Iraq had met its obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions. The Council expressed its hope that the goodwill expressed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq would be matched by deeds. It is therefore the right of the members of the Council - and of the people of Kuwait, which was the victim of Iraqi aggression - to ask whether that expression of goodwill has been matched by good deeds, whether Iraq has fully complied with Security Council resolutions and whether it is time for the Security Council to lift or ease the sanctions imposed upon Iraq.

With complete objectivity and sincerity, and with a sense of historic responsibility towards our people, the people of Kuwait, and their legitimate interests, security and stabilty - which are an integral part of the security and stability of our region and of the entire world - we state with profound regret that Iraq has not met all its obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions. Indeed, it seems that Iraq has backed away from some of the basic obligations it undertook by its solemn and unqualified acceptance of Security Council resolution 687 (1991).

Perhaps the most obvious example of this is the Iraqi attitude towards the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission. Let me begin to address this important matter by quoting the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, who spoke before this Council on 12 March 1992:

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"The first [obligation] concerns respect for the international boundary. There is no fundamental problem here. There is a minor problem: the withdrawal of five police posts. Iraq has asked that this be deferred until the demarcation of the boundary has been completed. The statement [of the President] notes that the area has been calm since last October". (S/PV.3059 (Resumption 2), p. 171)

We wonder - and the Council has every right to wonder too - whether the actions of the Government of Iraq since that date have been consistent with the words the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq spoke before the Security Council. I shall cite hard facts that speak for themselves - all of which emanate from Iraq.

First, I cite remarks made by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq to the Jordanian newspaper Al-Dostour on 27 April 1992, as reported by Agence France Presse that same day:

"Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz implicitly rejected the decision adopted on 16 April by the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission. He said the West was well aware that the boundary was unacceptable and that the problem would remain outstanding."

Second, I cite a statement made on 12 May 1992 at Baghdad by the Speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly, Mr. Saadi Mahdi Saleh, to a correspondent from the British newspaper The Independent, which quotes the Speaker as having said that

"Iraq would not accept the new boundary being drawn up by the United Nations, which gives some of Iraq's territory to Kuwait".

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait

Third, I cite a statement made by the Vice-President of the Republic of Iraq, Mr. Taha Yassin Ramadhan, to the Jordanian weekly Al-Watan on 17 May 1992; he is reported as having referred to "Iraq's prior right to Kuwait, which is well known and undeniable".

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

Then he went on to mention another subject - namely that "Kuwait is part of Iraq", and "our present generation will remember it since it even predates the time when the nation was one".

Fourth, distorted statements about the work of the Commission, made on 16 and 17 May 1992 in a nationally televized presentation by the Iraqi Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Iraq to the Commission on border demarcation before the Iraqi National Assembly.

Fifth, a subsequent statement issued by the Speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly reiterating earlier arguments by Iraq against the Commission. This statement said, in part,

> "the National Council strongly condemns the decision of the Iraq-Kuwaiti Boundary Demarcation Commission and its method of work, which were contrary to the rules of international law and norms of conduct. The Council expresses its reservations over the dangerous approach taken by the Commission and the decisions it has reached, because they will jeopardize Iraq's national rights. In this regard, our Council emphasizes for the world that it will not compromise a single inch of our territory."

Sixth, the letter dated 21 May 1992 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq to the Secretary-General concerning the work of the Boundary Demarcation Commission, which, as has been seen, was noted with dismay by the Security Council in a statement by the Council's President on 17 June 1992, which indicated that the letter recalled past Iraqi claims to Kuwait without also recording Iraq's subsequent repudiations of these claims, inter alia through its acceptance of resolution 687 (1992).

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Seventh, an apparently coordinated campaign of statements in July and August 1992 in Iraqi State-controlled newspapers and on television and radio declaring that Kuwait was part of Iraq.

Eighth, on 5 and 7 July the Iraqi newspaper al-Jumhuriyah published two articles by Iraq's permanent representative in Geneva in which he called for the map of the Arabian peninsula to be redrawn so that, among other changes in the region, Kuwait would be "united" with Iraq.

Ninth, in an interview in the Jordanian weekly magazine al Watan of 19 June, the Speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly stated that Kuwait had been Iraqi since Iraq first existed on the planet.

Tenth, the Iraqi newspaper Babel, published by a relative of Saddam Hussein, contained an article describing Kuwait as a "governorate". It is to be noted also that on 21 July the same newspaper published an article in which it boasted of its use of this appellation.

Eleventh, since 5 July Iraqi television has continued to broadcast episodes of a programme entitled "Mirage and Reality", the basic objective of which is the rewriting of the history of the region to accord with the poisonous disinformation that claims Kuwait is part of Iraq.

Twelfth, in a crude attempt to disinform public opinion, the State-run Radio Baghdad deliberately refers to Kuwait as a "province" whenever there is a reference to Kuwait.

Thirteenth, the statement circulated by the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations, prepared for delivery to the Security Council on 26 August 1992, which constitutes a distorted and fundamental attack against the boundary provisions of resolution 687 (1991) and the Council's demands on Iraq concerning respect for the inviolability of the agreed boundary.

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Fourteenth, the absence of the representative of Iraq from the last two meetings of the United Nations Iraq-Kuwaiti Boundary Demarcation Commission, despite Iraq's indication to the Secretary-General on 23 April 1991 that it would participate in the Demarcation Commission, and despite Security Council resolution 773 (1992) of 26 August 1992, which "urges the two States concerned to cooperate fully in the work of the Commission."

Fifteenth, Iraq's general failure to adequately assist the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait observation mission, UNIKOM, in ensuring the security of those working with the Boundary Demarcation Commission and engaged in emplacing physical representation of the boundary on the demarcated border.

Sixteenth, Tariq Aziz has been quoted in a recently published book by Saad al-Bazaz, editor-in-chief of the Iraqi newspaper al Jumhuriyah, entitled "A War Begets Another War":

> "It was essential to protect Iraq by the method of attack. There is no truth in the claim that the 2 August decision was without roots. In fact, that decision evolved and matured over 10 years before it was actually taken."

Seventeenth, the same book qualifies the relationship between Iraq and Kuwait as perceived by Taha Yassim Ramadan as follows:

> "We had no doubt that Kuwait was part of Iraq or that it is not embraced by the logic of pan-Arabism as it is but part of one country and not a full-fledged country in itself that can be united with another."

Those Iraqi actions and statements by highly placed politicians and technocrats, apart from the fact that they defy and reject the substance and

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spirit of the relevant Security Council resolutions, are part of a systematic and deliberate exercise aimed at keeping that region of the world in a state of tension and instability. Iraq continues to feed the present generation and future generations with falsehoods and fabrications that the Iraqi leadership knows better than anyone else to be distortions. Otherwise, why would school textbooks on history and geography published and printed by the Iraqi Government and used to teach students in Iraq, continue to portray Kuwait as "the nineteenth governorate"? The official map of Iraq continues to include Kuwait - Kuwait, which is a sovereign and independent State that has been solemnly accepted by Iraq in many instruments, the most recent of which was SEcurity Council resolution 687 (1991).

After all this, I wonder whether the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq expects this Council to accept his claim that Iraq has fully implemented Security Council resolutions and his call to the Council to lift the economic sanctions?

To the contrary, Kuwait feels the Council should now consider some procedure under the provisions of paragraph 34 of resolution 687 (1991) so that the Council may take

> "such further steps as may be required for the implementation of the present resolution and to secure peace and security in the region"

In this statement I have focused on the border issue and the sovereignty of Kuwait to illustrate the impact of these two issues on the essence of security and stability in our region. Let me here highlight the principled position of Kuwait regarding respect for the territorial integrity and

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sovereignty of Iraq. Iraq, for its part, is non-compliant and does not act in a way that shows respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait, which represents a grave breach of the provisions of resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions.

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I should like to cite the following: First, with regard to the withdrawal of the Iraqi police force from Kuwaiti territory: As is known, Iraq continues to prevaricate in regard to its presence inside Kuwaiti territory by maintaining five police posts. The Secretary-General has documented this breach in his relevant reports on the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM). Despite the persistent efforts of the former Commander of UNIKOM, Major-General Greindl, and the current Commander, General Dibuama, Iraq has rejected the international demand to withdraw those posts. It has claimed that withdrawal of those posts will depend on the outcome of the border demarcation process. Although the Boundary Demarcation Commission concluded the demarcation of the land boundary last July, Iraq has continued to procrastinate, claiming that it will withdraw its police posts once border markers have been emplaced. Within the next few days, the Commission will put the final marker in place along the border between Iraq and Kuwait. Will Iraq then withdraw its six police posts from Kuwaiti territory?

I take this opportunity to refer to another principle connected with the presence of Iraqi police posts inside Kuwaiti territory. As is known, UNIKOM has proposed that the two parties respect a reasonable distance of 1,000 metres along both sides of the UNIKOM boundary. The basic objective of that principle is to avoid any possibility of friction between the two sides and thereby to maintain the security of the demilitarized zone. While Kuwait has accepted this principle, Iraq has procrastinated, claiming to await the outcome of the demarcation process.

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Members can see for themselves Iraq's non-compliance with this principle and its encroachment on Kuwaiti territory, which has perpetuated friction and caused exchanges of fire along the border. Iraq's non-compliance has resulted in the death of a Kuwaiti security official, Lieutenant Al-Anzy, on 30 August 1992, and in the abduction and attempted abduction of civilian workers engaged in non-military activities in the region. Thus, as the demarcation process comes to an end, is Iraq willing to accept the principle of reasonable distance?

Second, regarding the release of Kuwaiti and third-country nationals detained or missing in Iraq, I should like to make my presentation on this topic on the basis of the replies given by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq in the Security Council meeting of Thursday, 12 March, 1992. In response to a question from the Ambassador of India, Mr. Aziz said:

> "The representative of India referred to the question of detainees. I hope that the clarification I have made in this statement will suffice. I should like to state to the representative of India that Iraq will do its utmost to solve this problem. We have said that we have given the file to the Red Cross - in other words, we have turned the whole task over to the Red Cross, in order that the International Committee of the Red Cross may carry out all the investigations and take all the measures necessary to put an end to this question and submit a report to the Security Council on it". (S/PV.3059, p. 196)

The representative of Iraq's vagueness and failure to make an unequivocal commitment did not escape the Security Council's attention. In particular, the representative of Japan concluded the meeting of enquiry with the following statement:

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"The fate of Kuwaiti and third-country nationals in Iraq is of major concern to my country. A question was asked yesterday regarding visits by the ICRC to places of detention in Iraq, especially as to whether the visits could be conducted in accordance with ICRC standard procedures. I am not quite sure if the general answer just given by the Deputy Prime Minister regarding cooperation with the ICRC covers this specific point of great importance. We shall carefully follow the developments on this particular point and may raise this subject again in future Security Council discussions". (S/PV.3059, pp. 208-210)

Since that meeting of the Security Council on 11 and 12 March, 1992, and despite the commitments undertaken by Iraq and the doubts of members regarding the credibility of those commitments, the question of Kuwaiti and third-country nationals who are prisoners and detainees remains unchanged. The question of prisoners of war, detainees, and missing Kuwaitis and third-country nationals in Iraq is at the top of our national agenda, since this is a humanitarian and moral issue that has religious and legal implications and affects many Kuwaiti families. The Iraqi regime's procrastination and refusal to submit full lists of the prisoners and places of detention; its constant and ongoing refusal to allow representatives of the ICRC access to Iraqi prisons and places of detention without prior notice and in full freedom, as provided for in the standard procedures of the ICRC; and the refusal of the Iraqi authorities to provide information to the ICRC on the missing and the dead among the prisoners and detainees represent major reasons for the inability to determine the actual number of detainees in Iraq.

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

The question of prisoners, detainees and missing persons does not derive its importance from the numbers of involved, be they large or small, but from the essence of human dignity, rights and duties under secular and religious law and from the obligations of the Iraqi regime towards them. Kuwait hopes, in regard to this humanitarian issue, that the Security Council might also properly review the actions of the Iraqi regime by the standards of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions and on the basis of the procedures adopted by the ICRC in such cases. Such procedures are legally and morally binding on Iraq.

The people of Kuwait, especially the families of prisoners and detainees, cannot understand how human life could be a commodity or how it could be used as a pawn in exchanges or as a means of pressure. They do hope that the Council, with all its powers, will establish an organic link between the elimination or easing of any form of sanctions against Iraq and the release of the last prisoner and a full account of every last missing person.

(spoke in English)

I come before the Council this afternoon with a personal message from the families of the victims, hostages and prisoners of war that are still being held by the Iraqis - a plea from those families to end their sufferings and to end their agonies. It is a humanitarian aspect of this case and we appeal to the Council and to all international organizations to find a just solution to this agony. The suffering of the families in Kuwait is unbearable, and we appeal to you again, as members of the Council and as nations, to help us in this endeavour.

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

(spoke in Arabic)

Third, with regard to the return of Government and private property stolen from Kuwait, since the Secretary-General of the United Nations appointed, on 26 March, 1991, his Special Coordinator to supervise the return of stolen Kuwaiti property by the Iraqi regime, Kuwait has submitted fully detailed lists of the property stolen from 27 Ministries and Government agencies, as well as lists of stolen property from the private sector.

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

Some of these claims have been accompanied by inventory lists drawn up by the Iraqi occupation forces that were found after the eviction of the Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The Special Coordinator appointed by the Secretary-General, and his aides, deserve our deep appreciation and thanks for returning some of the properties. Indeed, we have received some properties of certain Government ministries. Some equipment belonging to the Ministry of Defence will be returned. Efforts are under way to make arrangements for the return of such property. However, we must emphasize that the bulk of that equipment has not been saved from deliberate damage. The observations of Kuwait on this subject are as follows:

First, the Iraqi authorities have so far failed to account for the fate of the property of Government ministries and other Government agencies.

Second, the Iraqi authorities have officially rejected to bear responsibility for the return of the stolen property of the private sector. The value of such stolen property is in excess of hundreds of millions of dollars. That property was stolen and transferred to Iraq as proven by inventory lists issued by Iraqi Government ministries and endorsed with official Iraqi Government seals. Those who stole it came to Kuwait in order to supervise the looting of that property. We do have original and photocopied documents of those lists that were left by the Iraqi occupiers during their eviction from Kuwait.

Third, Iraq continues to ignore the urgent demands of the United Nations Special Coordinator who is supervising the return of Kuwaiti property. I am referring, in particular, to a Kuwaiti battery of Hawk missiles that Iraq admitted was stolen and used by it for a short while around Baghdad following the eviction of its forces from Kuwait. Iraq is fully responsible under

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

resolutions 686 (1991) and 687 (1991) to return the stolen property, and is legally liable for paying compensation for that property which was destroyed when it was stolen or when it is being returned.

Fourth, regarding Iraq's legal liability to pay compensations, the Iraqi regime is in violation of its solemn obligations. Indeed, it is taking a defiant posture regarding those obligations stipulated by section E of resolution 687 (1991) in relation to compensations and the operation of the Compensation Fund, as provided for under paragraph 19 of that resolution. This breach is a double tragedy, as it continues to inflict injury on Iraqis and non-Iraqis alike. This question too is a humanitarian issue of great importance, for which the Iraqi regime must be held fully accountable.

The Council, as it debates today for the second time the presentation by the high-level Iraqi delegation, should examine carefully and fairly a set of questions, which in our view should be the litmus test of actual and genuine compliance by Iraq with Security Council resolutions.

First, will the representative of Iraq state unequivocally at this time, on behalf of his Government, that as required by the Pact of the League of Arab States, the Charter of the United Nations and other binding treaty obligations, Iraq renounces the use of force as an instrument of national policy and, specifically, that Iraq permanently and unreservedly renounces the use of force against Kuwait?

Second, will the representative of Iraq unequivocally reaffirm at this time, on behalf of his Government, its prior and unconditional acceptance of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) in its entirety, particulary paragraphs 2, 3 and 4?

Third, will the representative of Iraq state unequivocally at this time,

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

on behalf of his Government, as required by resolutions 687 (1991) and 773 (1992), and by Iraq's acceptance of resolution 687 (1991) and of the United Nations Boundary Demarcation Commission, that Iraq will fully accept and respect the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait as demarcated by the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission?

Fourth, will the representative of Iraq at this time and on behalf of his Government give a solemn undertaking, as is required by resolutions 687 (1991) and 773 (1992), for the removal of the Iraqi police posts, which are inconsistent with the demarcated boundary between Iraq and Kuwait?

Fifth, will the representative of Iraq state unequivocally at this time, on behalf of his Government, as is required by resolution 687 (1991) and the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions, that Iraq will provide full and immediate access for the International Committee of the Red Cross, whenever and wherever requested, to places of detention of prisoners of war and other detainees and missing persons, and that Iraq will immediately provide full details concerning all Kuwaiti and third-country nationals at any time held by Iraq and return those persons to their countries?

These are questions, among others, that relate to essential conditions for future peace and stability in the region and that test the seriousness of the Iraqi regime's commitment to the rule of law. If Iraq continues to fail to implement its obligations, the State of Kuwait believes that the real issue before the Council should be the prompt determination under paragraph 34 of resolution 687 (1991), that is, to take such further steps as may be required for the implementation of the present resolution, and to secure peace and security in the area.

Having followed the statement made by the head of the Iraqi delegation,

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwai

it is evident to us and indeed perhaps to all of you that the position of the Government of Iraq in its interpretation of the provisions of resolution 687 (1991) regarding the lifting of economic sanctions is related to the destruction of the weapons of mass destruction under section C of that resolution. Perhaps you share my view that this is an erroneous interpretation. It reflects a selective wish by Iraq and a misinterpretation of the true nature of that resolution. That resolution aims at restoring and maintaining peace and stability in the region. Therefore, the sanctions emanating from that resolution are linked to the full implementation of all the provisions of that resolution, without any discrimination or preference. Perhaps the first provisions from that resolution that must be implemented a those in the operative paragraphs regarding respect for the sovereignty and independence of Kuwait under the boundaries with Iraq, as described in the agreed minutes between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq, signed 4 October 1963, those boundaries which have been demarcated now by the Commission. The conclusion of that boundary demarcation will be celebrated, God willing, this week when the last marker will be emplaced.

The people of Kuwait feel that the role of the Security Council in this regard means more than the selection of a mechanism for the maintenance of international peace. The maintenance by the Security Council of the full obligations of Iraq under resolution 687 (1991) and other legally binding resolutions will determine whether or not our children and their children wi live in peace or whether they will suffer once again the horrors suffered recently by the people of Kuwait at the hands of the Iraqi regime, and whethe the people of Kuwait can continue to live their lives or remain hostage to a lawless regime that continues to justify its crimes against peace and its violations of international laws of conduct.

(Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

What is at stake is the security of the region as a whole, a region whose security is organically linked to international peace and security. Kuwait, for its part, undertakes and pledges its firm and documented intention to implement all obligations emanating under resolution 687 (1991) as it tries to restore and maintain the security and peace of the region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister of Information of Kuwait for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me.

I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran) took a place at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran): The Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, in his statement before this body, quoted parts of a now-infamous letter from the Iraqi Foreign Minister making baseless allegations against my country.

Both the Deputy Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister purported to refer to press reports to substantiate their allegations of so-called Iranian military build-up, particularly in the area of weapons of mass destruction.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

What they have failed to mention - and I am sure deliberately - is the fact that in one form or another, the source of all these lies emanates from Baghdad. The members of the Council have certainly observed, as I have, that almost without fail these stories give as their source a terrorist organization based in Iraq and financed, equipped, trained and sponsored by the Government of the Deputy Prime Minister.

It is regrettable that Iraq continues to follow the same propaganda tactics it used during its war of aggression against Iran through attempts to generate fear among the countries of the region while hoping to persuade the Security Council to relax sanctions against Iraq, whereas the more logical wa would have been for Iraq to comply with its international obligations.

But let me state briefly for the record that these claims are nothing bu sheer lies. What the Islamic Republic of Iran strives for in the field of armaments is to bring its defensive capabilities back to their pre-1980 status, when Iraq invaded my country. Moreover, our continuous cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency stems from the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran is committed to its obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty and has categorically no intention of developing nuclear capabilities.

The endeavours that the Islamic Republic of Iran has made during years o deliberations in the Conference on Disarmament to finalize a new chemical-weapons Convention and our recent efforts during the current session of the General Assembly to obtain more support for the new Convention prove the fact that we, as the victim of Iraqi chemical weapons, consider these weapons as inhumane and continue our efforts to ban them.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that the main objective of Iraq after its defeat in Kuwait has been to portray Iran as the threat in our region. The agenda of Iraq is to distract the attention of the international community in general and the Council in particular from its non-compliance with Security Council resolutions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I intend, with the agreement of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting now. I invite the members to meet immediately for consultations.

The meeting was suspended at 6.35 p.m. and resumed at 7.20 p.m.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now suspend the meeting until Tuesday, 24 November 1992, at 10 a.m.

The meeting was suspended at 7.25 p.m.